1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Yerba maté may also be taken by groups of men as a sort of afternoon tea on festive occasions. A host's womenfolk prepare and hand to him a cup nearly filled with dry leaves, and a small tea kettle of boiling water. The host fills the cup with hot water and offers it to a guest who sips the free liquid through a narrow hollow tube (bombilla), commonly fashioned from brass. Then the cup is refilled with hot water and goes the rounds until everyone has had enough. Because the tea leaves absorb most of the fluid, a man can drink six or eight cups without getting a great deal of liquid.

In the region under discussion fish is unavailable, and meat is seldom eaten, except during fiestas. The roasted flesh of sheep, cows, pigs, chickens, and other poultry is much enjoyed, but the favorite meat is that of a young mare. When meat is included in the daily diet, it is most often made part of the midday meal.

Several traditional beverages continue to be consumed in large amounts. Fruit, cereal, and vegetable extracts, mixed with water and usually fermented, are old-time favorites. Most popular of all are: *chicha*, a cider made from the juice of mashed apples;[22] *mote*, made of decorticated wheat or corn boiled in water;[23] *mudai*, prepared from wheat with the skin on;[24] and *muska* or *chicha de maiz*, a fermented beverage prepared with premasticated corn.[25] All of these drinks are commonly allowed to develop an alcoholic content, and early chroniclers are agreed that the Araucanians have long been addicted to intoxicants, particularly at fiestas.[26] Some nineteenth-century observers have pointed out that the incidence of drunkenness increased rapidly in the reservation period, for every Chilean town in the

[22] Latcham (1909, p. 343) reported that apple *chicha* is made by men. Other fruits are sometimes substituted for apples. The presence of pips in a drink used to be considered an omen of fertility.

[23] Skin was removed with a strong solution of ashes. Cf. Joseph, 1931*a*, p. 92.

[24] Good accounts of *mudai* manufacture may be found in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 145–46, and in Housse, 1939, pp. 172–75.

[25] Augusta, 1934, p. 13. A vivid reaction to the premastication process occurs in Smith, 1885, pp. 302–4.

[26] Cooper, 1946, p. 741.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Frontera became a center for the sale of cheap but powerful liquor.[27] Unscrupulous tradesmen, as has already been mentioned, regularly encourage the Indians to drink when a transaction is being made, and alcoholism is currently a major problem.[28]

At meals women used to serve adult men first and children after their elders, but it has become the practice for family groups to eat together. Home made wooden bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons were formerly widely employed,[29] but store-bought enamel cups, metal pots and tea kettles, inexpensive "china," and tin spoons are now coming into use.

The only universal food tabus apply to snakes and frogs. In addition, young people are forbidden to eat sheep testicles, lest girls develop pains in the breasts and boys suffer from aching testes. Growing children are not allowed to eat bone marrow, because it is regarded as a "watery" substance that will retard their development. Furthermore, to ensure that they will not engage in premature sexual activity, adolescent girls may not eat unripe fruit, and grown women must abstain from fish lest, like them, they refuse to settle into permanent homes.[30]

Tobacco smoking, particularly in pipes, is reported to have been widespread among elderly people, especially men.[31] The absence of native tobacco, and the expense of standard brands have combined to eliminate this custom on most reservations. Such smoking as I personally observed was done by young men who occasionally accepted the offer of a cigarette.

[27] Natives most often drink a cheap wine nowadays, fortified by the addition of strong roots, herbs, or nut shells. One big drink often intoxicates them, sometimes to the point of stupefaction. Some manage to ride home, but others fall by the roadside to sleep off the effects.

[28] Latcham (1909, p. 335) expressed himself strongly on this point.

[29] For the manufacture of a wide variety of wooden utensils, see Joseph, 1931a, pp. 53–85.

[30] The details of food tabus were obtained only from a single informant, J. M. Collío. These data need to be checked before they can be regarded as widespread Araucanian beliefs. Some comparative material is given in Guevara, 1929, II: 163–66.

[31] Guevara, 1911, pp. 253–82. Stone pipes occur abundantly in archaeological deposits.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

without. Yet the Araucanians have not developed the concept of money, and their opportunities to acquire cash are exceedingly limited. As a group they have so little purchasing power that they are merely on the outer fringe of the Chilean financial system. The government lacks the resources to subsidize the Indians in any way whatsoever, and private manufacturers and traders can find little reason for making concessions to such poor customers. Consequently, the natives who cannot buy the things they need are discouraged and dispirited, and the shift in material culture has serious ramifications that result, at least for the time being, in a lowering of efficiency and morale.

Another aspect of transition that has a material base but extends into other areas of culture is the matter of drunkenness. Reverend Juan Antinao repeatedly affirmed: "Alcoholism is the curse of the Mapuche." No doubt he was influenced by Christian teachings, but there is much point to his statement in sociologic terms. In times past when a man became drunk, he was among friends and relatives at home or on a friendly reservation. He did not pay money for his liquor, nor did he put into jeopardy much more than his own health and comfort. Nowadays the pattern of drunkenness tends to run along different lines. The favorite drinks are not "home brews" of one sort or another but cheap wines sold in every town and city at numerous establishments that operate with or without legal license. To buy liquor one must pay cash, and when the craving is sufficiently strong a man will resort to all kinds of practices to get funds. He may sell bits of needed equipment, stores of seed or food, standing crops, or unborn animals, and he may even turn to thievery and robbery. Furthermore, while intoxicated, he may go so far as to dispose of his land, a contingency that could not have arisen in the old days.

A typical example of what may befall a drunken man concerns one of my informants who, in his youth, went into Cholchol with a cart drawn by two fine oxen and loaded with wheat to be milled. He remembers having had a few drinks. The next day, he woke up half-naked under a bridge. Gone were his cart, his wheat, and his bullocks. Similar tales are told of

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

177 other men. Many people deplore such a state of affairs, but
● 733 even some of the more realistic missionaries who are struggling to introduce temperance admit that drunkenness provides a measure of escape for men whose lives are drab and unrewarding.

177 Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one.
[554] Under the former social system a man had numerous opportunities to gain prestige and esteem by excelling in battle or by showing great skill at hockey and other strenuous exercises. If he had the resourcefulness and initiative to acquire several wives, he usually begot numerous offspring and had enough females in his household to raise his food, cater to his comfort, and show the deference due to the head of a family. Should he, in addition, exhibit a forceful character and a vigorous manner of speech, he might become a *werken;* and if he combined these qualities with the paternity of many sons he had a fair chance of becoming a *loñko*. At present the old incentives and rewards for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouses little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans.

Equally effective in lowering Araucanian morale has been the transition from occupancy of more than ample territory with abundant natural resources to confinement on strictly limited reservation lands the potentials of which are steadily decreasing. There was a time when, in the event of internal tension, an enterprising man could strike out into a virgin area and found a new settlement. Today, this sort of "safety valve" is no longer available. Men who hold titles in severalty gain a small measure of independence and autonomy, but they are tied down for life. When they become extremely unhappy in their relations with housemates or neighbors, they have only two means of escape. They may wander away to Argentina, or they may look for jobs

4:Latcham F-[illegible] (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

As Humboldt ha
important event in th
nomadic to an agricul
brought about by any
gradually by the race o
life, and at first only in

The Spanish conqu
other domestic animal
tribal government, owi

The introduction
much headway. The
strained, and the stern
the results of this tr
declaration of the Re
peace, it became a lu
distilling cheap "firew
traffic attain that it is
few years what the Sp
the tameless Araucano
general it has complete
a fierce, untiring, veng
vagabond, who would s
in his craving desire for

Clothing.—Prior to
led a purely nomadic li
exigencies of the chas
wild beasts, sometimes
cornerwise between the
protected themselves fr
sewn together, or by
present day. In those
and braided into two l
Now, however, this fas
off square a little abov
bright-coloured worsted
colour. Formerly, in w
heads of wild beasts as
fastened under the chin
the softer skins, using c
vegetable fibre. In son
employing rushes, fibrous
was evidently an importe
who inhabited the easter

so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most 177
history of human society is perhaps the change from a
ural life." This change among the Araucanos was not
compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted
seeing the advantages accruing from the new mode of
a very desultory way.

st brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants [23]
a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the 241]
g to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader.
f spirituous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make 648
relations between the whites and the Indians were so 273
hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that
ffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the
ublican Government, when there were longer lapses of
rative business, and many large fortunes were made by
ter" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this
a common saying in the south that the distillers did in a
niards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced
This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in 733
y changed his character and mode of life, an[illegible]m being
ful patriot, he has become a drunken, cringing, soulless
ll land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge
drink.

the Incasic invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos 291
e as hunters, shifting their *toldos* from time to time as the
demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of [28]
ung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed
legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they
m the cold and rain by long blankets of furs coarsely
uanaco skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the
earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long 302
ng plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide.
hion is left to the women, and the men wear a mane, cut
the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a
band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favourite
arfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the 292
elmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and
by straps. They also fashioned rude sleeveless shirts of
eless needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or
e parts they also produced a coarse kind of fibre cloth, [286]
grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This [177]
d custom, and was probably learnt from the Calchaqui,
n slopes of the Andes north of the 32nd degree. There

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

252 264 415 The food is served in wooden bowls and platters, the men being served first. They do not use a different bowl or platter for each individual, but the adult males sit round the bowls in groups of three or four, each one helping himself in rotation, beginning with the eldest, or with the guests, if any are present. Should the visitor be a stranger or a person of consideration he is given a platter to himself. They use wooden spoons for their meals, but latterly the tin or pewter article of commerce has been much adopted. After the men have finished, the women and children partake of the leavings in the same manner.

The platters and spoons are not washed till after the meal. To remove grease they use wood ashes.

262 A few of their principal dishes are as follows: *ticum coré*, flesh cooked with bruised wheat or maize; *puñi coré*, potatoes and maize; beans or peas boiled with grease, and various other stews in which the *moté* or skinned wheat or maize form the principal ingredient. The coast Indians also use two or three edible kinds of *alga*.

The favourite meat is horse-flesh, and mutton, half cooked, but they prefer the former, seldom killing their horned cattle, which they keep for commercial and agricultural purposes.

Another common article of fare is the *ulpud*, with which the Indian concludes most of his meals, breaks his fast in the early morning, and which he takes with him on all his journeys. It consists of toasted wheatmeal, and is eaten or drunk with water which any brook or spring supplies.

264 612 The Indians take their meals at any hour, but generally at mid-day and sundown. If they feel hungry at other times, the inevitable *ulpud* is their immediate satisfier.

They have no special names for their meals.

252 The use of bread antedates the Spanish conquest, and at present they prepare different kinds from all their cereals.

The latter are ground, not by pounding but by rubbing. A little grain is placed on a flat stone, and rubbed with a smaller one, held in both hands; the operator kneeling beside the larger stone and bringing the weight of the body to bear in the operation. The meal is sometimes sifted in horsehair sieves, but is generally used entire.

No ovens are used, but the bread is baked in the ashes in the form of *tortillas* or flat cakes. A primitive leaven is prepared by the old women or children chewing the grain and then leaving it to ferment in water, or in a hole in the ground.

262 [565] There is very little difference in the foods of the upper and lower classes among the Araucanos, save perhaps the quantity of flesh consumed; nor do there seem to have been any tabooed foods. Men and women eat from a common supply.

733 Like most other barbarians, these Indians are greatly addicted to drunkenness, especially since the introduction of distilled spirits. They are accustomed to

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

intoxication from earliest childhood; it being no uncommon thing to see small children completely inebriated. In regard to fermented liquors they are exceptionally well provided, a considerable number of wild fruits supplying them with materials.

After the introduction of cereals they learnt how to prepare a kind of small beer from maize and barley.

The early missionaries planted large numbers of European fruit trees round the old missions, some of which, like the apple, have propagated to such an extent as to form real forests. From the apple the Indians make a kind of cider called *chicha*, making a similar liquor from another fruit called *muchi*.

They also extract a spirituous liquor from several plants, especially the *huingan*.

They make their *chicha* in wooden troughs, pounding the apples with sticks. The juice is mixed with water, and left to ferment for seven or eight days. It is usually consumed at once, as it very quickly turns bad. The *chicha* is usually made by the men, the children gathering the fruit. It is kept in large earthenware jars.

Agriculture.—When the Incas arrived in Chile they found the native races without even a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture. Following their established custom, the Inca Yupanqui imported into the conquered country a large number of *mitmacs*, or colonists from Peru, presumably from the Chincha tribes.

These colonists, mixing little by little with the Indians of Northern and Central Chile, introduced among them the first elements of agricultural and pastoral life.

But even a century later, at the arrival of the Spaniards, those tribes who dwelt to the south of the Bio-bio had not adopted the new state, save in a very limited manner, owing to the abundance of natural products and their continual state of inter-tribal warfare.

Up to the present time the Araucano only takes to agriculture in a desultory fashion, and to provide the mere necessities of life. Their methods are of the most primitive.

Probably the principal reason why the barbarian tribes take to agricultural life with such distaste, is the difficulty of inadequate implements, and the consequent amount of labour entailed by such work, especially before the introduction of domestic animals.

The Araucano, for instance, could see no use in working hard to obtain what the earth gave spontaneously; and as a consequence, so long as his liberty to roam at will was uncurtailed, he showed himself refractory to such a mode of life.

His first implements were extremely modest. A forked stick of hard wood, weighted by a perforated stone, which also served as a handle, enabled him to turn over the ground. This digging-stick was at first used for grubbing up the roots which formed a principal part of his daily food. Another form of digging-stick, which was universally carried by men, women, and children alike, and taken with

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

Violation is not considered a crime, but the violater renders himself liable to pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during their feasts the most unbridled licence prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same *lov* or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

Laws.—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Lafquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Telvun-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Ina-pira-mapu*